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A SKETCH
OF
THE CHANGARS
AND OF
THEIR DIALECT.

BY
G. W. LEITNER, LL.D.



Lahore:
PRINTED AT THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT CIVIL SECRETARIAT PRESS.
1880.

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SKETCH.

A.—INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

1.—THE NAME "CHANGAR."

LIKE Dr. Trumpp, though some years before him, I was misled by the appearance and designation of this tribe into the belief that I had at last identified the Zingari or so-called Gipsies of Europe with their precise Indian originals. The resumption, however, of my enquiry, suspended for many years in consequence of the suspicions created among them by a Panjabi Chowkedar, has convinced me that, however striking some of the ethnographical coincidences may be, the linguistic affinities, so far as I have been able to compare them in the absence of Pott's Vocabulary of Gipsy Dialects, do not seem to be closer than those that have already, and amply, been ascertained to exist by myself and others between the Romany of Europe and Hindi. The name "Changar" also seems to be applied to that tribe, as also to other tribes, by outsiders; for amongst themselves "Chûbne" is used. I am inclined to think that "Changar" is simply "sifter" from "chháanna"; for sifting wheat from chaff is their occupation, and I have as yet found no evidence to connect the "Changars" with a wandering, much less with a thieving, tribe by profession, which some believe them to be, beyond those necessities of migration and appropriation which poverty seems to create among certain of the poorest classes of the native community. A few facts for and against the "Zingari" connexion will be found in the course of my remarks on their customs and in the fragments of their language, now presented for the first time to the philological student.

2.—CASTES AMONG THE CHANGARS.

As usual with tribes of questionable origin, that of Rajput is claimed by some of the Changars, but the general consensus seems to place the "Pullâr" and "Manás" (said to live in Kashmir) in the first rank, the "Seróe" in the second, and the rest in the third; whilst all agree in considering the "Kurá" as their lowest caste, whose members are obliged to sit in a lower position when in the presence of other Changars. The meaning of "Kurá" was explained to me to be "half-castes" or "bastards." The remaining castes were given to me by one man as "Kále, Magharé, Jiteyán and Basián"; whilst another proudly claimed that the Changars were sub-divided into the sacred number of seven castes (five, seven and eleven being favorite numbers generally) as follows: Pulóro (the same evidently as Pullâr), Manás (said to be equal to Rajputs), Jenù, Choán (there is a Rajput tribe so called), Suróe, Basián and Kurá. (Is not Surohé another Rajput sub-division equivalent to good fighters?) Assuming both the above statements to be correct, we should have the following sub-divisions:—

Rajput,
Pullâr or Pulóro,
Manás,
Suróhe or Suróe,
Basián,
Kále,

Magharé (might this be a corruption of another wandering tribe examined by me, called "Magadhs" ?),

Jiteyán,

Jenú,

Choán,

Kurá,

making up the favorite number of eleven.

3.—GENERAL REMARKS.

The tribal tie among the Changars is so strong that the word by which they designate themselves, namely, "Chúbna" for a male Changar and "Chúbni" for a female Changar, is their word for "beloved." This reminds one of Borrow's famous axioms supposed to exist among the Gipsies "Rôm" of England:—

- (1) Be faithful to the husbands,
- (2) Love the husbands,
- (3) Pay your debt to the husbands,

"Rôm" meaning both a Gipsy and a husband. In fact, the Changars, like the Gipsies, are connected with the whole race by a close and sacred tie, to which only that of marriage offers an analogy. The consequence is that, among all the Gipsies that I have met since 1854, as among the Changars, whatever may be their conduct among themselves, the greatest morality is observed in their relations to outsiders. Nothing can exceed the proud independence with which the Changar women move about their occupations. Their chastity is proverbial, and is in striking contrast with the obtrusive immorality of the women of the Ghassiára, or grass-cutting, tribe that infests Lahore. Superficial observers may confound the women of both the classes alluded to; for both Changar and Ghassiára women may often be seen with grass-loads on their heads; but, whereas the former, tall and dark, pace the main roads in stately reserve, dressed in picturesque breast-bands and blue petticoats, the latter, short and ash-coloured, clothed in rags, shuffle along the streets and lanes, intent on alluring the male passenger.

4.—SETTLEMENTS OF CHANGARS.

It would appear that one of their largest settlements is at Lahore, where they chiefly congregate in a cluster of mud huts behind the Small Cause Court. Another settlement is near the Lahore Railway Station. They say that they have come from Darap near Siálkot, and that their ancestors have descended from the Kashmir and Pathan hills. As regards their number, one of them suggested 5,000 souls in all, but estimates which proceed from individuals of the intellectual capacity of Changars cannot have much value. They indicate Lahore, Ludhiána, Amritsar, Ferozepore, Multan, Jullundur, Pesháwar, and "a stage beyond Pesháwar" as their principal "locales." At Delhi and Ráwalpindi they assert that they are not to be found, and of Sind they have never heard. The Changars to whom Dr. Trumpp alludes as wanderers along the rivers of the Panjab, where they build little huts made of reeds, and are engaged in catching fish and alligators, which they eat, are not acknowledged by my Changars. They call them "Samé" or "Mé," and it would, indeed, appear that Trumpp's Changars are a different people altogether; for Changars do not catch fish (except the spawn in pools with their hands), and they do not eat alligators. Again, Trumpp's Changars spoke Sindhi, whereas mine do not. I showed the vocabulary to Mr. Davis, c.s., Inspector of Schools in Sind, and, as far as he went, he did not recognize a single Sindhi word. Yet Dr. Trumpp identifies his Changars with the Gipsies, as I did mine, and asserts that their identity has "also been proved linguistically beyond all doubt." That the Gipsies were an Indian tribe I showed in 1859 after my acquaintance with them in Bulgaria, Constantinople and Hungary. The identification of the precise tribe of

Gipsies is, however, a very different and most difficult matter which has not been settled by any means. The name of "Changars" is given by outsiders to various wandering races, and I myself years ago was led by the striking similarity of the name to "Zingari" to assume some connexion between our Changars and the Gipsies of Europe. I do not, however, find that their language has been dealt with even in the roughest sketch, much less that their linguistic affinities have been established beyond all doubt. On the contrary, I believe that, in spite of the labors of Pott, Ascoli and others, the whole question is still involved in the greatest obscurity. As regards Mr. Leland's supposition that they are "Dums," the little I know of the language and distribution of that supposed tribe, leads me to reject their being the same as our Gipsies. I prefer applying to the present enquiry a statement of Dr. Trumpp regarding the relations of the hill-tribes and their languages to the Jats: "These relations to the Jats and among themselves are still shrouded in obscurity, and the cause of linguistic investigation has yet a wide field for cultivation, on which, alas! there is a great want of laborers." The objections to the Changars being Gipsies, according to the usual definition of the occupations of the latter, are: (a) they are not musical, but send for singers or players; (b) they do not mend kettles or horse-shoes; (c) they do not tell fortunes; (d) they are not professionally addicted to theft. The Changars, as I know them, pick up what they can find, carry grass and assist Banias in winnowing wheat, taking what falls on the ground from the sieve as their portion. This is sometimes as much as three seers, or six pounds, a day. A nasty custom exists among the Changars of washing the undigested entire grain out of the dung of horses and using it for their consumption; and it is said that it was one of their ancestors doing so "on a journey beyond the hills" that led to his proscription and to his becoming the founder of the tribe of Changars. Yet, like the Gipsies, or indeed human beings generally, they are exceedingly proud of their race, and consider that only "Sayads" are above them, so that, at all events, the Changars do not claim to be descendants from the Mussulman Prophet. They are, however, religious, having shrines to which they preferentially resort, and Pirs, of whom one, Kasfa Shah, is said to live "this side of Jammu." They have also Mullahs who wash the dead and appropriate their clothes. These functionaries repeat the prayers, are said to know Arabic, and to instruct the youth (which I have never seen in my visits to their quarter). At all events, there are Changars in European service as bearers, if not Munshis, whose nationality and language are concealed from their masters. The Changars also pride themselves on eating nothing that is unlawful, and therefore chiefly, it appears to me, repudiate the alleged connexion with Trumpp's so-called Changars.

5.—RELATIONS OF THE SEXES, BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, &c.

Considering the proverbial chastity of the Changar women, one would have thought that the birth of a daughter would not be deplored as a calamity among them. Yet such appears to be the case, at all events *pro forma*. A respectable Changar seems to be bound to say on the occasion of the birth of a daughter "Would that she were to die"; for it is said that the honor of a family is in the keeping of a being that may at any moment disgrace it; whilst if she remains virtuous her qualities adorn another's home. But a boy may grow up to be able to feed his parents, and if he does something wrong it is exclusively his own shame. How far the above statement represents the general sentiment among Changars I am unable to determine; for on the above point I had only a single informant. He added "but a disreputable Changar is glad at the birth of a daughter"; for he says "she will bring me in money when she marries." This, indeed, appears to be the custom, and no dowry or presents accompany the giving away of a bride. As parents do not wish to die without seeing their children's offspring, they bring about a marriage for the sake of the chance of obtaining grandsons. The father of the boy goes to the abode of the father of the girl with a big tray of moist sugar of which all the friends of the parties partake. A present of ten to

twenty rupees to the girl's father also accompanies this feast. Then the priest* ? tears asunder a strip of cloth several inches broad, and gives each of the contracting parties one-half. A few days after a similar tray of moist sugar is brought to the boy's hut, and all the assembled friends put some present of money into it, or the father of the bride returns a portion of the sum given to him by the father of the boy. Then rejoicings take place (*vide* Wedding Song). The boy, who is generally only six or seven years of age, is then brought in a doolie to the girl's house and remains with her for a few days, after which he returns. They marry when they grow up to the age of puberty, without, apparently, any particular ceremony. During the interval, I presume, they cannot help constantly meeting one another. The settlement at Lahore, at any rate, is like a bee-hive, and although the young women go out to sift wheat or to pick up grain and waifs,—for the former object at least in couples, though for the latter purpose they are occasionally seen alone—yet a vigilant eye seems to be kept on them by every member of the tribe, who are said to be responsible for their chastity, even if their own virtue should not prove to be a sufficient protection. When a male child is born from the union of Changars, great rejoicings take place at the infant's house, to whom a name is given, rarely by the Mullah, chiefly derived from the fancy of an elder relative that may be present, male or female. For instance, if there be already a child in the family called Dulla, the new arrival might be called Sulla (*vide* Dialogues); or if he has a sister of the name of Jiwa, the boy might be called Jiwan Singh; for it would appear that Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh names are indiscriminately laid under contribution in addition to some original Changar names (*vide* list of names). One of the songs sung on the occasion of a birth seems to be altogether Panjabi, *viz.*—

Birth Song.

Dányanu a mil we dányá : O grain ! mix with grains, *viz.*, O thou new-born ! mix with thy elders.

Dúmanu mflye dád : The players (Dûms) have (now) a drum = A cause for joy has come.

Téri nannì légya pándo : Thy grandmother (mother's mother) has been taken.

Jisdin balé jermu lyá : On the happy day thou art born.

Berúa usriá = (Bérea = rupees ?) or The "Bêr" tree (jujube) has grown up (?)

Tére dade walerian (wadaian? congratulations) : Congratulations to your grandfather !

The wedding song I heard seemed to have more melody in it, from our point of view, than most native songs; but the words were Panjabi, and seemed to celebrate rather the good things distributed at a wedding than the happy union itself.

Wedding Song.

Jóra layó Naròwál,

Maidì layó Gujratí,

Píran da Pír tshangéra Negáeda

Juml di ás putshánda,

&c., &c.

"Bring shoes from Narowál (said to be famous for shoes),

And dies for the nails from Gujrat (said to be famous for Mendi).

* A prayer or the *kalima* appears also to be read on this occasion, all the persons assembled standing up and holding the palms of their hands before them as if they were reading a book.

The best Pir of Pirs Nigáha (said to be as important a shrine as Mecca. It is probably Nigaha in the Dera Ismail Khan district) is causing every one to obtain his wish."

That the Changars are not strangers to the tender passion may be inferred from the following question and answer in their own dialect, embodied, apparently, in some song:—

The lover asks : Tétana dauri kadagye.

Me tute kupar nikhr gauba.

Tetadì kadagì hodie ?

Answer of the beloved : { Me ap nikhrí hui yan idde pishat (for analysis
vide end of Dialogues).

Translation.—

The lover : You have enchanted me,

I am dying for you ;

Have you no word for me ?

The beloved : (No, since) I am myself dying with longing for you.

6.—FUNERALS.

The funeral ceremonies do not seem materially to differ from those observed by other Mussulman Panjabis. Once, when going through the Changars' quarter, I observed a double row of women sitting in the verandah of a somewhat better hut than one usually seen in Changar occupation. A young man had died from a single attack of fever, and many gathered to do honor to him. The women were all crouching with their chaddars or some dark cloth drawn over their faces and expressing their grief in a monotonous wail. It appears that when the body is borne to the tomb, clothes are thrown over the shroud (kafan), which become the property of the Mirasis. No bread is distributed to the men that follow the body, as is usual with Muhammadans, but bread is given to the grave-diggers. After forty days have passed, rice is bought at the cost of from ten to forty rupees, cooked, and eaten by the "Beradari" of the deceased. A curious legend is told in connection with the dead.

Legend.

There was once an old woman who could get no food. A fakir, beloved by God, said to her : " Why should you die of hunger when I can give you two (magic) drawings ? Take them to the burial-ground, and when you show the one, a dead person will arise and place the clothes that are put over the corpse before you ; then show the second drawing. He will then disappear, leaving the clothes behind him, which you can take to the bazar and sell. Thus you will buy food with the proceeds." The woman followed the holy man's advice, and was rewarded by success. Her improved circumstances were the source of astonishment to all the neighbours, but especially to a jealous and avaricious lambardar, who pestered her so long with questions that she at last told a portion of the story and showed him one of the drawings. This the wretch snatched from her, and during the night went to the cemetery. He too brought a corpse out of a grave, which placed its clothes before him. The lambardar, rejoicing, shouldered them and went home, but, to his horror, the corpse, which had not been restored to its rest by the second drawing, followed him. The lambardar tried to avoid his follower, but could not. The corpse fastened on him, and to get rid of the unwelcome guest he dropped the clothes. But this was not enough. His own clothes soon followed, and, at last, the lambardar was reduced to his langôti (the native apology for trousers, which even murderers spare on the body of their victim). The corpse, however, was insatiable.

Whatever the lambardar had, was soon piled up before the corpse, and yet it would not leave. So in his agony he betook himself to the old woman, who said: "What can I do to release you? You have brought the corpse and now you must try yourself to get rid of it." However, after many importunities and probably offers of presents, the good woman at last produced the second drawing, on seeing which the corpse suddenly disappeared, and the worthy couple found itself in possession of a pile of clothes and of other property.

As an instance of the kind of Urdu-Panjabi in which the above story was communicated to me by an exceptionally intelligent and intelligible Changar, I quote the beginning of the original. [Notice the attempt made to bring the story to the comprehension of a Sahib from "dogé."]

"Kóí jò sí máí buddi sí, tò bhuki marti sí, unno rozgár ne sí labdì. Fakir miliá Alladu muhib: 'Egr tú bhuki marnì, mè ténu naksha likh dogè? pé roti khaín, beiti, tò jáke jítte murdà dalá hò, naksh dikháín, murda kabr se bahir ho jawe, jítne khapan howega tumári 'garì rakhdèga, aur dusra naksh dikhána, wapis hojaega aur khapan pará rehega; khapan léke, bétsho, khaó.'"

As a rule, however, to obtain anything like an exact reply to, or equivalent of, a question seems to be an impossibility. One's only chance after eliciting a few common substantives, imperatives and indicatives (in their replies) is to let them talk and then try and catch the meaning here and there. The drawback to this course is that, in order to avoid the trouble of thinking, the next best Panjabi word or sentence will be offered as their own vernacular, or an ordinary Changari word will be made to do service for anything that may be at all resembling its original and proper meaning. However, I have elicited enough to enable friends of Gipsy lore to make a few more conjectures, and I believe that I have established the existence of a separate dialect that might be called "Tshangari" and spelt "Changari," till a better name is found.

B.—LINGUISTIC FRAGMENTS OF THE CHANGAR DIALECT.

1.—MEMBERS OF THE HUMAN BODY.

Blood = pírna (what is red).

Head = sír. Panjabi and Hindi

Eye = patirni (also pronounced "patshirni").

Nose = kumbr; is properly speaking the name for "mouth."

Mouth = kumbr, bratiri? (in Panjabi "kumal," tip, especially of nose).

Tooth = kalí.

"So it is," said a Changar, "in our Parsi." Another, with reference to another word, said: "so it is in our Pastó," just as "Pastó" is often used in Panjabi to designate *any* language that the hearer cannot understand.

Tongue = jíb, as in Panjabi.

Lips = hòsh. Compare Sanscrit "osht" and Panjabi "hòt."

Hair = wál, as in Panjabi.

Neck = gal, ditto.

Arm = kònt.

Finger = kònt; also hand. }

Breast = ? lek.

Breasts = mommé (obvious); also "gòrne," both of men and women.

Heart ? stomach = didh, in Panjabi "belly," also "dèddo."

Hip, leg = gaun.

Beard = kumbr dih (dulimeyn ?). Compare "dih" and "dari."

Chin = todi, as in Panjabi.

Knee = gòdde, as in Panjabi. Is a plural.

Skin = chimeyla (*vide* DIALOGUES).

1 (a).—MISCELLANEOUS SUBSTANTIVES.

Rupees = bérea. Boat = béri.

Anna = kóndra. Angle = kundr, kutshri tshekenwali.

Pice = másla.

Day = témkana. Perspiration = mûrka and "bednu-nîr" = the water of the body (*vide* DIALOGUES).

Night = nêla. Rain = nîr.

Daylight has appeared = tshannàn lagà.

Darkness = kálma = what is black.

Sun = shemess (not likely to be the Arabic "shams").

Moon = kûpre tsherárea. *Literally* : what has mounted above.

Clothes = litshera. Càp = Sis kûperli.	Petticoat = katérdji.
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Turban = sîsti.	Drawers = kutaná.
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Jacket = tshagá.	Pillow = sirará.
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Breastlet = tshori.	Ring = tshápp.
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Knife = séuka tshirkni = meat-cutting instrument. Compare "tshuri" = a knife and "tshirna" = to cut.

Fork = rambá.

Plough = tshît putarni = earth-digging instrument. Compare with Panjabi "putna" = to dig.

Winnowing-sieve = malera. Panjabi "tshajj."

House = nad. Also town. Roof = litshkeri. Kupa tshît teyi hui = over wood earth is placed. The word "nád" has been borrowed by the criminal tribes.

Village = djarra nád, or big house.

Cart = larri, lèrre. Compare "gari."

Waterpot = árra. Lárra = Panjabi "gharra." Olú = well-water ?

Chittai = tálátshwali, or "thing which is below." *Vide* "talát" in 17, page 12

Clothes = litshera. Compare Panjabi "lira" and "lingra."

Mirror = Kumbr patshirdi = to see the face or mouth.

Fire = tshurái (also light, heat, &c.)

Pitcher = nîr-wali larri = the pot of water.

Bread = tapl.

Salt = kaurma ; pepper = kaurmi. Compare "kauri" bitter in Panjabi.

"Pepper is the female of salt."

Earth = tshít, also brick, stone.

Road = ráuta.

Air = tshurái; also fire.

Lock = kumbr nikharnewala = a thing to strike openings (a door). Compare "kumbr" and "nikhár."

Shoes = gaunáki. Earring = dandiáwali or patèrre.

Oil = kajálna = what burns, with the prefix "ka," like lamp = kadiwa for "diwa."

Sugar = mítmi.

Meat = théoka, seuka. (*Vide* the equivalent for "knife.")

2.—IMPERATIVES.

Come = kurkunàr, or *perhaps* kur kunar.

Go = patìr jáo kur (patir = pare ?)

Sleep = nindka.

See = hòk le.

Antsher le (hei ?). "Hei" seems superfluous, or the sentence may be "he is looking." Or may "hei" be the Sanscrit vocative "hei" ?

Hear = sung lo. *Obvious.*

Bring = seir kunàr = لے آ Compare with "kunar" for "come."

Take away = seir jao = لے جا The "seir" here would simply seem to be the equivalent for لی.

Beat = nikhar.

Pluck = katól ser, as in "pluck the pomegranate" = "bagmá katól ser." This would then be = "thor le" in Urdu. "Ser" is the same as "seir."

Give = dedo. *Obvious.*

Eat = neng le. "Niglina" is Panjabi for "to swallow."

Drink = nîr gôrser. "Nîr" is "water." Compare Sanscrit "nir" and Modern Greek "neròn." Compare "gôr" also with "khôr" = eat and drink in Persian.

Get up = kútko bá hog = uth khará ho. Compare with Panjabi "uthke beh."

Open = kutár thîg, as in "open the door" = "kumbr kutár thîg." Compare "kumbr" = "mouth" with the same word for "door" = anything open. This is an instance of the poverty of this language. Panjabis often say "Buha lahde" = "take the door off," in which case "kutar" might simply be "utár" = "take off," with the dialectic "k" prefixed.

Shut = nikhár thîg, as in "shut the door" = "kumbr nikhár thîg." "Nikhar" is also "to strike," and would be equivalent to the Panjabi. "Buha már de" = "strike the door," for "shut the door."

Stop = kuba rehò or rehág.

Break = tshát, as in "litskrin tshát" = "break the wood." Compare "tshát" with "tshás" in the same dialect.

Sit = taurkia (?) is this "are you sitting" ? Compare "tshísra taurkia" = "are you sitting well" ? and "talátsh taurke djaug" = "sitting down (?), go" = "first rest yourself, then go." Compare "talátsh" with "talát" in the numeral 17, on page 12.

Do not fight = nápi khillàr.

Beat = nikhár, as in "dible nikhár" = "beat the children." Compare this "nikhár" with the same word for "shut" above.

Kill = likhár (nikhar ?) tshuweyl = már tshad in Panjabi.

Throw = sutá thîg. Compare Panjabi "sùt de" = "throw."

Sleep = nindke djaug = either "só jao" or "after sleeping, go." There seems to be no verb from "nind" in Panjabi, as we find to be the case here.

3.—RELATIONSHIPS AND OCCUPATIONS.

Man = gáun.* Seems to be rather the name of any one who is not a Changar. A Changar calls himself, when not heard by others, "Chúbna." A great man, King, Raja, Nawab, are indiscriminately called "djedda gaun" = "great man."

Woman = giráni. A female Changar is called "Chúbni" (*vide* Introduction).

Son = díblá, a male child generally.

Daughter = díblí, a female child ditto.

Father = jára, also uncle.

Mother = jári. The closeness of the tribal tie is indicated by the words for uncle, aunt, being the same as those for father and mother.

Brother = braunto. Mamu (mother's brother) was rendered to me by "mani."

Sister = brauntori.

Friend = braunto (brother). Enemy = mera mate na lagáre = may he not come before me.

= tshíra (*vide* also "names of men and women").

Sweetheart = nándwali, "chúbne" (*vide* above).

A stranger = gôtsha (any one who is not a Changar).

Cultivator = Raín; also a tribe of cultivators in the neighbourhood of Lahore, also called Aráin.

["Butolna" is the chief occupation of this tribe, the equivalent for which in their language is "runkhna," and which I take to be picking up waifs and strays, and, perhaps, also winnowing wheat. "Butolna" is "to gather," and "butolna" would then be "to pick up waifs and strays," which I believe is their real occupation.]

Tailor = lítshre síri karárna = clothes sewing-maker.

Dhobi = lítshre síri kararna (*vide* above).

Shoemaker = gaúnadi síri kararnawalla = shoes sewing-maker. Shoes are "gaunaki" elsewhere.

Carpenter = lítshkri tshásana. Compare "break" in the list of Imperatives. Compare "lakri" with "lítshkri" and "tachhna" = "to out even" with "tshásana."

Servant = rukkar sírea.

* Also the name for foot, as the Arabic رجل, which is the same in the singular for both man and foot

Sepoy = burkan.

Thief = kôder.

Sais = pukáru tshékanwala. *Literally* a horse (pukára) catcher? feeder? puller?

Cowherd = sirian nîr sirer karárna?

Fisherman = kutshrî tshékenwala = one who catches fish (kutshri).

Mehtar = tîla.

Cloth-dealer = kênia. Compare with "Bania."

Gardener = Rúte lugarnewala = one who plants.

Goldsmith = píрма tshísra kararnawalla ["Pírma" is gold. Compare with "pírma" = "red" or light yellow? among names of colours]. *Literally* : "The man who makes gold good."

Silversmith = bagmî tshísra kararnawala = the man who makes silver [bagmî = the white thing] good.

Hindu = Kîndu } The latter designation is apparently a jocular
Mussulman = Kúsulkán } transmutation of some consonants.

Pathan = theoka *or* miakne nengenwala = one who eats meat or mutton.

4.—ANIMALS, BIRDS, &c.

Animal = dimra? Fish = kutshrî. Alligator = sansár.

Horse = pukará and pukára. Birds = tshíra? (obvious).

Cow = pokrí. Bug = katmâl; louse = kálmia.

Dog = tshaukra; flea = tshirkdeni.

Cat = miakrí, miakní; "miakna" is "to whine" in Panjabi, and also applied to the cry of the sheep.

Ox = loutsherá.

Buffalo = kusarî. I asked the equivalent for "bhains," a she-buffalo.

Mouse = tshîr putárni (?)

Sheep = } mihakná?
Goat = }

Pigeon = bagmá (white).

Poultry = lobanwála, also for hen or cock.

Duck = lobni (evidently the same as "poultry").

Crow = chaukrá lobanwála.

Ass = meákna, also for mule (*vide* DIALOGUES).

Tiger = pokri néngna (one who eats cows).

Elephant = kalma djedda = the big black thing.

Fox = berátshora (*vide* DIALOGUES) = game?

Jackal = berátshori.

Hawk = berátshari nikharke nengna = one who striking game eats it.

4 (a).—TREES, FRUITS, &c.

Tree = pêri; also "rute." Compare Panjabi "ped" = "a plant" and "rukḥ" = "a tree."

Wood = litshkri. Compare "lakri."

Grass = lílá; also nilá. Compare Panjabi "nira" = bhusa.

Gharra? = lará = green grass?

Grain = kúndja. Bhusa = kômbra. Rice = kôndr. Flour = gérna.

Fruit = nenganwalla.

Apple = ditto.

Grapes = lútshre.

Pomegranate = bagmá katól sêr (pluck the white thing and bring).

Stick = latshkri.

Water = nîr. Coals = kajeré, kalma (*sic*).

5.—ADJECTIVES, ADVERBS, PREPOSITIONS, CONJUNCTIONS.

White = bagmí. "Bhagmá" in Panjabi is the name of a colour popular with Fakirs' dress or head gear. "Bagma" is from the Panjabi "bagga" = "white," with the termination *ma* after it.

Black = kálma. Notice terminations "ma" and "mi."

Red = píрма. "Pila" is light-yellow in Panjabi, or "pale."

Green = harma. "Harra" is "green" in Panjabi. "ma" is the Panjabi termination to some ordinals like "terma" = "the 13th."

Quick = tshabeylu. Compare Panjabi "jhàb" = haste, as in "jhabdé já", = "go quickly."

Old = tshúda.

Young = tshísra.

Good = do.; also the name for a "Pehliwan," a proficient in wrestling for which Lahore used to be famous, and in which Changars excelled.

Beautiful = do.

Ugly = kébla.

Small = lútshera.

Big = jéra (old ?); also pronounced "djerra" and "djedda."

Near = inneye (?), inne (?); "inge" for "this side" is used in the Hinduí of Karnál. Compare also Persian "ín" (این), this, and "íngah," this place (اینجا)

Far = inne nápi = it is not near.

All = suweyle. Compare Sanscrit "sarv," Hindustani "sab," all.

Dear = bère daure = rupees many (?)

Cheap = tshisra tshেকেsar = he demands well = little.

With = kolo or kol (as in Panjabi); with me = meta kol.

Dirty = soldí (?). Generally "kebla" = ugly.

Clean = tshísra, good, young, beautiful, &c., &c.

Naked = nangma, or "lítshra kupar napi" = *Literally* "clothes over not (are)."

6.—NUMERALS.

- 1 = ek.
 2 = tôr.
 3 = tég.
 4 = chaug.
 5 = pándo.
 6 = cheblu.
 7 = satélu.
 8 = atélu.
 9 = narélu.
 10 = dasélu.
 11 = yerélu. Compare "giara" and "yárán" and "yazda."
 12 = barèlu. Panjabi "bára."
 13 = télu.
 14 = charélu.
 15 = parélu.
 16 = sarélu.
 17 = tégat talát lî = 3 below 20. Compare talát with "tale" = "below" in Urdu.
 18 = tórat talát lî = 2 below 20.
 19 = ek talát lî = 1 „ 20.
 20 = lî. Plural = lîsa.
 21 = ek-wa kupar lî = once above 20. Compare "ek warî upar bî."
 22 = tora kupar lî.
 23 = tega „ „
 24 = chaug „ „
 30 = dasélu „ „ [ten above 20].
 37 = tégat talát tôr lîsa = 3 below two twenties.
 40 = tôr lîsa = two twenties.
 41 = ek-wa kupar tôr lîsa = once above two twenties.
 60 = tég lîsa = three twenties.
 80 = chaug lîsa = four twenties.
 100 = Nêr; also pándo lîsa = five twenties.
 1,000 = Dasélu nêr = ten hundreds.
 3,000 = Lî dasélu nêr = 20 ten hundred. This is obviously wrong, and should be "daselu li nêr" = $(10 + 20 \times 100) = 3,000$.

7.—NAMES OF MEN.

Dallu, Mandá, Pakîr, Tunia, Sáun.

Hira (the lambardar), Idda, Sidda.

Buddu, Kasita.

Maya, Phagena.

Máli, Gonda, Sonda.

Baldu, Buta.

Dullah, Kíwa (also name of woman). Dullah is said to be an abbreviation of "Abdullah" = "servant of God," in order to prevent the name being taken in vain, supposing its bearer should disgrace himself. The name, however, is common enough among Panjabis generally.

Alláyah, Jiwa.

Bhug, Bagù.

Mái, Bírbal.

Dallá, Mago.

Jumá.

Mamdu, Allah Ditta.

Léna.

Shána.

Mána, Míra (?) Píra for Piran Ditta?

Kíra.

Bagù.

Ída.

Budda.

Bura,

Amíra,

Saida,

Mittu,

Jára = father,

Chira = ?

} Names which those around me gave themselves.

7 (a).—NAMES OF WOMEN.

Kakó.

Jewaí, Jíwan, Jiwa. The brother of Jíwa was called "Jiwan Singh."

Bhágan.

Rurí, Razi.

Chúra, Kííwa.

Búra.

Amrái.

Sabrái.

Aladjawaí.

Bhagparí.

Míra (also apparently the name of a man).

Hashmetí.

It will be noticed that, although many names of both men and women are common to the Mussulman Panjabi population, there are also some Hindu names, whilst others again seem distinctively to belong to the Changars.

8.—DIALOGUES.

I am ill = *Tēha hoá*. Compare “*Thagá hua*.”

Ma tshisra nahin = I am not well (good). Compare Panjabi “*Main takrá nahin*” = I am not well (strong).

Thou art rich = *Bērea daure are* = Rupees many are.

He is a good man = *Bara tshísra hai* = She is very good.

She is a beautiful woman = *Bari tshísri hai* = She is very good.

You go first, I will come after = *Tu agár tshelás, ma pitshát uknági*. “*Agar*,” Sanscrit *agre* = *agge*; *tshelás* = *chal* or *challa su* (in speaking, Panjabis sometimes put “*su*” after some tenses of verbs, which is merely redundant); *pitshat* = Sanscrit *pashchát* = Panjabi: *pichhon* or *pichhete*.

In your house are there children? = *Deblián deble tetande* (contraction for *tetanade* = thy house?) *kinmene* (how many?). Panjabi “*kinne*” = “how many,” used also in the sense of “many.”

When were they born? = *Tetane nad kad diblá hogia*? This is obvious, and, I fear, wrong about “*hogia*.”

Tell the name = *Nautha dusár*. Panjabi “*nánn dass*.”

We are all Changars = *Asse (asin) suweyle (subhe) chûbne han*.

You are all Sahibs = *Tussy* (Panjabi “*tussin*”) *suweylu bagme* = white.

They are all strangers or Gochas = *Suweylu gaun* = *gotsha* = *gíria* = *zamindar*.

Don't fall = *Kadegí nápi*. Panjabi “*Diggin ná*.”

Don't speak = *Karágian ná kar* = words (?) do not do.

Bring me the rope = *Rasmí ser kunár*.

Where is it put? = *Kíne tayí hui*?

Who brought it? = *Kaun ser kunarya*?

Nobody brought it = *Kisine nehin tshekri*.

It is put here = *Unné tayyí hui*.

When did you bring it? = *Kadu ser kunarya*?

What (did you want) to do (with it) = ? *Kí kerarne sái*?

I will never do such a work = *Ewa kameda napí kararenga*.

This is a great shame,

This is a very bad word, ..

Ye bari buri bát hai,

} = *Ye barí keblí karárgi hai*.

O children, Dulla and Sulla! = *We putr Dulla Sulla*! (“*putr*” should be “*diblé*”).

(The above dialogues obviously require revision.)

I am cold = *Métanu dúsra lugárda* = *Hamko djára lagdá*.

It is very cold to-day = *Aj (?) daura thea* = To-day it has made very ... (adjective omitted).

To-morrow it will be hot = *Kal tshurái thegi* = to-morrow fire will make, like French “*Il fera chaud*.”

Grind the corn = *Kundja gyé ser*.

Sari písra (I probably did not hear this properly).

8 (a).—DIALOGUES OR SENTENCES.

It has become daylight = Dauri kajalti hai. Notice that the prefix "ká" is used by the criminal Sansís before ordinary words.

Do work = Kameda karáro (very suggestive terminations).

Pick up grain = Kúndja rúngser (*vide* remarks regarding the occupation of Changars).

Do quickly = Tshabeylu karáro.

Drink water = Nír gôr ser (probably the same as "ther").

Eat bread = Tapì neng ther.

I am eating bread = Man tapì neng therì hui.

Hear my words = Kàdàgi merì thung jao, *or* sung jao.

Come here = Patàr kunàr; also "Uràtsh úkan" ? "ukan" may be "bring" Panjabi "urán" (=) hear.

Come near = bájki (?) A (?) (A is clearly wrong.)

I want = tìg ? ma tìg ?

I do not want = Me napi tigda (I do not want to give ?)

Take off = Kotár thíg. Compare "Utár de."

Put on = Kalár thíg.

What is your name = Letera nautha ki ?

Go there = Parátsh jáo. Here = urátsh. There = parátsh. Panjabi "urán" "parán."

Bring quickly = Tshabeylu ukan. Compare "ukan" in "Come here."

Go slowly = Ao tirmi; also "Tirmi ukan." Compare "ukan" again. Compare Hindi "dhire," slowly.

Come in the morning = Jeddeweyle ukun. Notice "ukun." Panjabi "charhde weli."

Come in the evening = Nellu kunár.

My house is far = Meta nad inne nápi. *Literally* = "My house near is not."

My house is near = Meta nad inne yé.

What is the price of this ? = Kí tshekerna ? I take it "What do you want ?"

{ =ek médede nápi. Is probably "e kamade napi" = is no good.
Equivalent to Panjabi "Kamda nahin."

It is dear = Béri daure = Rupees many.

It is cheap = Tshísra tshekesar.

Gather the grain = Kúndja rungser.

Open the door = Kumbr kutár thíg. Compare Panjabi "Búhá lách de" = *literally* "Take the door off."

Shut the door = Kumbr nikhár thíg. Compare Panjabi "Búhá már de" = *literally* "Strike the door."

Break the wood = Litskrin tshát.

Are you sitting well ? = Tshísra taurkia ?

After sitting down, go = Talátsh taurke djaug ?

Beat the children = Dible nikhár.

Where is the mirror ? = Kumbh patshirdi wo kine e ? *Literally* (The thing) to see the face it where is ?

Where have you put it ? = Kine rukhari ?

= Keta ker le ?

Let him not come before me = Mera mate ná lagáre (*vide* "enemy").

It is very hot = Daura kajalta hay.

Dry = Kajálua. Compare heat, oil (latter also called "kalma" = black).

Wet = Nirwala. Compare water, river, rain, all called "nir".

They are great thieves = Kóder daure ne.

From whom have you bought your clothes ? = Litshri kissise tshék ser, or litshera kise kainea (banya) kolo (with) tshékreyi = From what banya have you bought your clothes ?

I bought the clothes from a Mussulman = Kisi Kúsulkán kolo litshera shekreya.

Take off the skin (clothes ?) = Tshamúrta (also tshimeyla) kutár ser.

The singers have come = Lobenwala kunáre hoe ne (compare "lobenwala" with "lobenwala" = a cock or chanticleer).

She sings well, bring her = Tshísra lobdi, ser kunár.

A song = Lob.

Come to me once a day = Meta kolo ekwa timkeno ukandi raugi.

Conversation with a sick Changar.

Prepare your bed = Nidkani litshari kupar kalár thig. *Literally* = On the sleeping place the clothes above stretch (?) do.

Put on clothes = Litshari kalár ser.

Take off clothes = „ kotár thig.

There is a bad smell here = Soldi kebli kunar diye tsháser = explained to me as Panjabi "yéle."

He does his work well = E komede tshísra kerárda hai.

It is raining = Nir thende = Water is (falling ?).

There is much rain = Daura nir thea = Much water has (fallen ?) "Théa" was explained to me as Panjabi "pará húa."

Drink tea, (then) sleep on the bed, put a lot of clothes over you, (then) you will perspire, and then you will get well = Kálmi gurá, níndkani, kupar nindk jaóg, litshere daure karár thigo, bednu-nir nikál djóge, efer tshísra hog djaugega.

There is a great glare = Dauri tshurái lugári hui = *Literally*. Much fire has fallen.

Put your rug (kambal) over your eyes = Tingra kupar patshírni thig.

My foot is very bad ; I get no sleep at night ; I have great constant pain = Métera gaun daura kiblá, nérei nindka nápi, medjátsheri (pain) dauri hogdi raugdi (= هوتي روتی)

It is fever = Tshirár goga. Explained as "tápp hogya."

Put clothes on me = Meta kupar litshra karár.

It is very cold to-day = Dauri surái lugár dye.

Come again = Pítshas kunár.

He knows his business well = Kaméda daura janinda.

Prepare food = Nengenwala rindár (كپانا پكارو)

Have you cooked? = Renndár (rindár) sereyi ?

It has become good (it is cooked) = Tshísra hoguga.

I am hungry = Metanu tshub lugarye (مچھنو بھولہ لگا)

Be quick = Tshubeylu karár thig,

that I may eat = men nengsara,

and go to my business = me kamêda djougune.

Throw water on your face = } Nir sutár kumbr kupar.
Wash your face = }

Hear my words = Meteri kadagi sunag.

Go, I want to sleep, } Tshirár, ma nindkanya (چل میں سو جاؤنگا)
I will sleep = }

Very well, sleep = Úkar, nindkha (come, sleep).

I am dead = Ne nikhr gauba (nikhr = died ?)

P.S.—The Mullah is both designated and described as follows:—Nekhre-hue tshisre karárna, litshre tshisre karárna = one who does good to the dead and does good to their clothes, viz., takes them.

A builder is called “chit putárna” = earth sticker (?)

Conversation between Master and Servant.

Me téta nádúwala = I am your master (*Literally* owner of the house = husband).

Me tandi kushiye jine tetan rukhara = Wherever be my wish, I will place you.

Jauke kundja kutshengi, létshôrke sira kararke,

کر کے جفا چاکے ہو چنگی دانا جعنا

keneanu thigi kundjede masle meta kol

پامں میرے پاسے دانہ کا دودو بھاکو

ser kunari = As much grain as you collect, after sifting it clean, give
او لے

it to the banya and the pice of the grain bring to me.

Kisaine lutshange ? = Whom will you ask ?

Kumbr nikharnewala ser kunar = Bring the thing that strikes (shuts) the door
(a lock),

tojekó nindkani kutáke sed (ser ?) djaugega = otherwise (some
one ?) will take the charpoy and go.

Phir kisan lutshengi ? = Then whom will you ask ? (compare the same
sentence above).

9.—DIVISIONS OF TIME.

A year is called and defined as follows:—*Ekwa barélua minyéda ekwa*
once twelve months once

hogya = once twelve months has become once.
has become

I take "minyéda" and "hogya" to be imitated from the ordinary vernacular ; for, on asking the word for "a month," it was given to me as follows :—
 "Ekwa (once) kuparla tynan timkaniada ekwa dusra hogia" = once above 30 (?) days once a second time (?) has become. Might "tynan" be another word for 30, which ordinarily is "dasélu li" ?

Day is called "timkana."

Hour ?

Night = nêra.

10.—CONVERSATION AS REGARDS HOMONYMS IN CHANGARI.

On enquiring how they would distinguish between a cat, sheep, goat, as the name for the three was the same, "miakna," the reply was : Supposing I say "Miakni patshiri thi = I have seen a 'miakni' " [pronounce 'th' as in English 'thing'—unlike any sound in Panjabi], the answer would be "what kind ? = kirmi kisi ? lutshera = little ?" If so, it would be a cat ; but if I reply "nenganwala = to eat," it would be known that it was either a sheep or a goat ; and if I said "miakná" it would be known as a male, in other words as a sheep ; for the sheep is the male Bedu to the female Bakri. If I said "miakni" it would be a goat. [Probably, once finding out the goat, he could then use the masculine or feminine termination, as required.] Again, if I said "I had seen a berátshora," which might mean "fox" or "jackal," if I added "tshaukrétera," like a dog, it would be known to be a jackal. He then went on to reply to my question as to how he would distinguish whether "kalma" meant "darkness," "oil," "tea," &c., &c., by pouring out such a flood of words that I was unable to follow him beyond eliciting that the general context would and did guide the hearer. So, too, with "pirma" for gold, red, blood, &c., and "bagma" for pigeon, silver, white, an European, &c. These and other instances, however, sufficiently show the great poverty of the Changari language, in which respect it offers a striking similarity to the "Magadhi," which I have touched upon elsewhere, and to which Dr. Trumpp alludes in an article in the *Augsburg Gazette* in the same paragraph in which he refers to the Changars, with whom he identifies these singular people (the Magadhs) without knowing that name. Thus in Changari we have "tshísra = good" for "young, rich, beautiful, clean, clever," and "kebla" for "bad, old, poor, ugly, dirty, ill and lazy," and in Magadhi (not that of India), where the same word serves for small and near, bad and poor, great and rich, &c.

A love song (?)

Tétana dauri kadagye.

دلہیل ہی بہت تمہارا

Me tute kupar nikhr gauba.

کیا مار اوپر تمہارے میں

Tetadi kadagi hodie ?

ہے دلہیل ہے تیرا

Me ap nikhri hui yan idde pishat.

ہوئی ماری آپ میں

The Urdu translation is as dictated to me by the Changar. The meaning would seem to be, though there are several grammatical objections to a portion of it :

You have enchanted me (kadogí = words).

I am dying for you.

What have you to say to me ? (or Do you also love me ?)

Answer.—That I myself am dying after you.

I have sincere pleasure in adding a note on Panjabi terminations by my young friend and pupil Sirdar Gurdial Singh, whose evident philological tastes deserve every encouragement.

11.—NOTE ON CERTAIN PANJABI TERMINATIONS, IN CONNECTION WITH CHANGAR.

The import of the terminations ná, má and of lú and lá in Panjabi.

The termination *na* (for the fem. *ni*) is not to be confounded with *ná*, the sign of the infinitive.

This termination is added to verbs (and rarely to nouns) to derive from them the names for the instruments of the act which the verbs denote. For example, “*chhánná*” is to sift; the instrument used in sifting is formed out of the root by adding *ni* to it, which is “*chánni*,” a sieve. The verbs contain the roots in Aryan languages. In fact, this termination is added to denote the means of doing anything. This way of forming names of instruments may with advantage be utilized in naming instruments invented in modern times.

The termination *má* (fem. *ni*) is added

- (1) to form ordinals from the cardinal numbers, except in the case of the first four. This is Sanscrit *má* and Persian *m*, as *dasmá* = *dashama* = *daham*.
- (2) to neuter verbs, forming adjectives from them denoting the state in which any object is, as “*badhmá ghatmá*” = having projections.
- (3) to transitive verbs, forming adverbs denoting the manner, in relation to the object, in which an act is to be done, as “*gharismá*” = draggingly, or to denote the result of the action, as “*churma*” = something broken. This of course is a substantive.
- (4) sometimes to a radical noun, having the force of intensity, or the possession of the qualities, as “*súrmá*,” a brave man. Sanscrit ‘*súra*,’ brave, wise.

The general idea underlying the employment of this termination seems to be to denote the *actual state* of anything.

The termination *lú* seems to have no place in modern Panjabi; it is found in words purely Sanscrit, as “*kirpálu*” = kind. But it seems to be represented by *lá*.

The termination *lá* is added to nouns or adverbs to form adjectives from, them, denoting the possession of that quality or property, as from “*sukh*,” eased we have “*sukhálá*,” easy, “*andar*” and “*andarla*.”

Wálá I suspect to be the development of this termination when detached from the root, as is suggested by this use of ‘*wálá*’ by the poet, *viz.*, “*Hamd Rabbwáli*” = the praise pertaining to God. Or the case may have been reversed at a former stage of the development of the language.

Compare English *ly*, Saxon ‘*lich*.’

This *li* is not to be confounded with Hindustani diminutive *li*, as in “*khát*,” “*khatauli*.”

Na (*fem. ni*) termination.

- { Nuherná, from 'naunh,' a nail, is the instrument of cutting nails with.
 { Mochná = an instrument of barbers used for plucking out hairs. Sanscrit
 "much" to take away, to loosen.

Nihání = the carpenter's gouge.

Madhání = the instrument of extracting butter from milk. From Sanscrit
 "mathan," churning.

Ohhálni = a sieve, from "chhánná," to sift.

Kurelni = a fire poker, from "kurelná," to poke the fire.

Ghumáni = a sling, from "ghumna," to go round.

Rirkná = a vessel in which milk is put when being churned.

Rirkni = do., smaller than the above. The verb "rirkná" means to churn
 the milk.

Má termination.

Bárhma = tirhma, &c., &c. = 12th, 13th, &c.

Súrmá = full of bravery, from Sanscrit "súr," a brave man.

Chúrmá = broken bread mixed with sugar and ghee, from "chúr," "chur
 karna" = to crumble.

Chukmá, *adv.*, as in "heth ná 'lagge chukmá li áo" = uplifted. Chakmá is
 also an adjective in "chakma chulla," an oven which can be removed at
 pleasure.

Gharismá, *adv.* = draggingly, opposed to the above.

Baithmá, *adj.* = sittingly, as "baithmá pahrá"; with the top depressed,
 as "baithmá jorá."

Dhalmá, *adj.* = 1, sloping, as a roof; 2, cast, not wrought, as "dhalmi top."

Tulmá, *adj.* = weighed, as "tulme dane" = weighed grain.

Murmá, *adj.* = 1, hooked; 2, that can be receded from, as a bargain, as "souddá
 murmá karliá."

Ralmá, *adv.* = mixed, as "ralmá nirá liá" = bring the fodder mixing
 together.

Chalmá, *adj.*, as "chalmá kamm" = a work done passingly, *i.e.*, one which
 would not last long.

Kharmá, *adj.* = high, upward, "kharmi batt" = a high dam; "kharmi
 kulli" = a cot with high top.

Phirmá, *adj.*, as "phirmi gali" = a winding street.

Bharmá, *adj.*, as "bharmá munh" = a fat round face.

Ghatmá, *adj.* as "Ghatmá mel" = cheap sort; "badhmá ghatmá kamm."

Badhmá, *adj.* and *adv.* = high, in advance, as "oh sabh nalon badhmá
 jándá hai."

Lú and lá terminations.

Dayálú (Sanskrit dayálu) = affectionate.

Kirpalu (Sanskrit kripálu) = kind.

Sukhálá, *adj.* = easy, "sukhálá kamm" = easy task.

Bacholá, *noun* = mediator.

Bichlá,
Wichkálá, } *adj.*, middle.

Báhlá, *adj.* = outsider.

Andarlá, *adj.* = what is inside.

Hethlá, *adj.* = the undermost.

Utlá, *adj.* = the uppermost.

Nirálá, *adj.* = alone. From "nira" = merely, only.

Basolá, *noun* }
Basoli, } a small adze.

A SKETCH
OF
THE CHANGARS
AND OF
THEIR DIALECT.

BY
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